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Congress Part 15:  
Concluding Address**

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SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF  
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

G. DIMITROV

The Present Rulers of the  
Capitalist Countries are but  
Temporary ; the Real Master  
of the World is the Proletariat !

CONCLUDING ADDRESS

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# The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries are but Temporary ; The Real Master of the World is the Proletariat !

*Speech delivered by Comrade Dimitrov at the Close of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935*

(Comrade Dimitrov's appearance on the platform is greeted by a storm of cheers. All delegates rise and applaud heartily. Shouts of "Red Front ! " "Banzai ! " "Hurrah ! " "Long live Comrade Dimitrov ! " Orchestral flourish. The ovation continues for several minutes.)

Comrades, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world, for the toilers of every land ?

It has been the Congress of the complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement towards socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers who are turning more and more to communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hardworking petty townsfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.



This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The union of forces of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the militant proletariat and toiling masses in the capitalist countries holds out the great perspective of the oncoming collapse of capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of socialism throughout the whole world.

Our Congress has laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilisation of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working-class struggle.

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat as its most important immediate task that of consolidating its forces politically and organisationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it had been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena.

We have not invented this task. It has been prompted by the experience of the world labour movement itself, above all the experience of the proletariat of France. The great service which the French Communist Party performed consists in the fact that it grasped the need of the hour, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to hold back the Party and hamper the realisation of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist people's front now in the making. (*Applause.*) By this action, which accords with the vital interests of all the toilers, the French workers, both Communists and Socialists, have once more advanced the French labour movement to first place, to a leading position in capitalist Europe, and have shown that they are worthy successors of the Communards, worthy exponents of the glorious heritage of the Paris Commune. (*Storm of applause. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!"*) Comrade Dimitrov turns around to face the Presidium and is joined by the entire audience in applauding Comrade Thorez and the other French comrades on the Presidium.)

It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries.

But what has been done in France constitutes only initial steps. Our Congress, in mapping out the tactical line for the years immediately ahead, could not confine itself to merely recording this experience. It went further. We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But as the vanguard of the proletariat we are ready to arrange joint actions between the proletariat and the other toiling classes, interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these classes and parties, but in struggling for our aims we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which when realised will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of the other parties; but while using our own methods in combating fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem to be, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

We are ready to do all this because, in countries of bourgeois democracy, we want to bar the road to reaction and the offensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois-democratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the proletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intellectuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

We are ready to do all this because in the fascist countries we want to prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We are ready to do all this because we want to save the world from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

(Here Comrade Weber, a delegate of the German Communist Party, mounts the platform and presents Comrade Dimitrov with an album in the following words: "Comrade Dimitrov, in the name of the German Party Delegation I deliver this book into your hands, a book of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary fighters of Germany. It was you who by your conduct at the Leipzig trial and your entire subsequent activity served as an example for the German Communist Party, for the German anti-fascists, in their struggle. Accept this book, this song of the heroism of the proletarian fighters of Germany, to whom you have furnished an example to follow, who give up their freedom, their health, their lives in the cause of the revolution!" (Comrade



Dimitrov accepts the album and warmly embraces Comrade Weber. Loud applause, shouts of "Hurrah!" cheering.)  
*Ours is a Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.*

We are now raising the issue of this struggle in a new way. Our Congress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of imperialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by their militant action.

To-day the world is not what it was in 1914.

To-day on one-sixth part of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to nought the aggressive plans of the instigators of war. (*Applause.*)

To-day the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. To-day the mass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled with the political influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace. (*Loud applause.*)

To-day the working class is not labouring under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. To-day there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (*Applause.*) To-day the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists.

To-day the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the Soviet revolution in China and the heroic exploits of the Red Army of the Chinese people. (*Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.*)

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars the bourgeoisie is staking its head. To-day not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars.

Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested at the present stage in the avoidance of war.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realised and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of a powerful anti-war front.

Ours is the Congress of the unity of the working class, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

We entertain no illusions on the subject of the difficulties which the reactionary portion of the Social-Democratic leaders will place in the path of realising a united proletarian front. But we do not fear these difficulties. For we reflect the will of millions of workers; we serve the interests of the proletariat best by fighting for a united front; and the united front is the surest road to the overthrow of fascism and the capitalist order of society, to the prevention of imperialist war.

At the Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity*. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and put an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International. (*Applause.*)

We know that as yet not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. Among these workers there are still remnants of sectarian self-satisfaction which must be overcome if the line of the Congress is to be carried out firmly. But we shall carry out this line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our class brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated with the Amsterdam International. (*Loud applause.*)

At this Congress we have taken the course of forming a single mass political party of the working class, to end the political split



in the ranks of the proletariat, a split caused by the class-collaboration policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. To us the political unity of the working class is not a manoeuvre but a question of the future fate of the entire labour movement. Should there be any people in our midst who approach the question of the political unity of the working class as a manoeuvre, we shall fight them as people bringing harm to the working class. Precisely because our attitude on this question is one of absolute seriousness and sincerity, dictated by the interests of the proletariat, we lay down definite fundamental conditions to serve as the basis for such unity. We have not invented these fundamental conditions. They are the result of the experience gained from the sufferings of the proletariat in the course of its struggle; they are also in accordance with the will of millions of Social-Democratic workers, a will engendered by the lessons of the defeats suffered. These fundamental conditions have been tested by the experience of the entire revolutionary labour movement. (*Applause.*)

Since proletarian unity has been the keynote of our Congress, it has been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Congress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant trade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-Democratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers herded into fascist organisations were not represented, the Congress has spoken not only for the Communists but also for these millions of workers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming majority of the working class. (*Applause.*) If the labour organisations of various trends were to hold a really free discussion of our decisions among the workers of the whole world, there is no doubt in our minds but that they would support the decisions for which you, comrades, have voted with such unanimity.

So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions of our Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. To have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to popularise them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation as well as the workers affiliated with organisations of other political trends to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us how these decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realise them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

Ours has been a Congress of a new tactical orientation for the Communist International.

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labour movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of living Marxism-Leninism, has revised the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied in a new way. The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labour movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relationship of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of sectarianism from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.

While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations here and there to the Right or to the "Left"—deviations in the direction of adjusting oneself to trailing behind events, or in the direction of sectarian self-isolation. Which of these is, "speaking generally," the main danger is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

The cause of Communism demands not abstract but concrete struggle against deviations; the prompt and determined rebuff of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and the timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by a peculiar sport—hunting imaginary deviations or



deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle, and not hastily set down as some deviation or other every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganise the Party *are to be flayed without mercy.*

Championing, as we do, working-class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for *unity within our Parties.* There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (*Applause.*) *The Party is above everything else!* (*Loud applause.*) *To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye—is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

Ours is a Congress of Bolshevik self-criticism and of the strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections.

We are not afraid of pointing out openly the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything impeding its development as a revolutionary party.

And the work which the Congress has accomplished by its merciless criticism of self-satisfied sectarianism, of the use of cut-and-dried schemes and stereotyped practices, phlegmatic thinking, substitution of the methods of leading a party for the methods of leading masses—all this work must be continued in an appropriate manner in all Parties, locally, in all links of our movement, as this is one of the most essential preconditions for correctly carrying into life the decisions of the Congress. (*Applause.*)

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Committee, the Congress resolved to concentrate *the day-to-day leadership* of our movement in the Sections themselves. This makes it our duty to intensify in every way the work of forming and training cadres

and of reinforcing the Communist Parties with genuine Bolshevik leaders, so that at abrupt turns of events the Parties may quickly and independently find correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Plenums of its Executive Committee. The Congress, when electing the leading bodies of the Communist International, strove to constitute its leadership of such people as accept the new lines and decisions of the Congress and are ready and able firmly to carry them into life, not from a sense of discipline, but out of profound conviction. (*Applause.*)

It is likewise necessary in each country to ensure the correct application of the decisions adopted by the Congress. This will depend primarily on appropriately testing, distributing and directing the cadres. We know that this is not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that some of our cadres did not go through the experience of the Bolshevik mass policy, but were brought up largely along the lines of general propaganda. We must do everything to help our cadres reorganise, to be retrained in a new spirit, in the spirit of the decisions of *this Congress.* But where the *old bottles* prove unsuited for the *new wine*, the necessary conclusions must be drawn—not to spill the *new wine* or spoil it by pouring it into the *old bottles*, but to replace the *old bottles* by *new ones.* (*Loud applause.*)

We intentionally expunged from the reports as well as from the decisions of the Congress *high-sounding phrases* on the revolutionary perspective. We did this not because we have any ground for appraising the tempo of revolutionary development less optimistically than before, but because we want to rid our Parties of any inclination to replace Bolshevik activity by revolutionary phrase-mongering or futile disputes about the appraisal of the perspective. Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we take account of the process of development of the revolution, not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process. By proceeding as the party of revolutionary action—fulfilling at every stage of the movement the tasks that are in the interest of the revolution, the tasks that correspond to the specific conditions of the given stage, and soberly taking into consideration the political level of the wide toiling masses—we accelerate, more than in any other way, the creation of the subjective preconditions necessary for the *victory of the proletarian revolution.* (*Applause.*)

“Take things as they are,” said Marx, “that is, defend the interests of the revolution as changed conditions may require.” This is the gist of the matter. This we must never forget.



Comrades! The decisions of the World Congress must be brought home to the masses, must be explained to the masses, must be applied as a guide for the action of the masses, must be made the flesh and blood of millions of toilers!

It is necessary to encourage everywhere as much as possible the initiative of the workers in their respective localities, the initiative displayed by the lower organisations of the Communist Parties and the labour movement in carrying out these decisions.

When leaving here the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat must bring to their respective countries the firm conviction that we Communists bear the responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the labour movement, the responsibility for the fate of each people, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but temporary rulers.

The proletariat is the real master, to-morrow's master of the world. (*Loud applause.*) And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country, all over the world. (*Applause.*)

We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great teachers. (*Applause.*)

With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army, overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers, must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world! (*Storm of applause.*)

Long live the unity of the working class!

Long live the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International!

(*Loud applause, passing into an ovation. The orchestra plays the "Internationale" in which all delegates join. Cheers from the various delegations: "Long live Stalin!" "Long live Dimitrov!" "Hurrah!" A triple "Red Front!" The French delegation sings the "Carmagnole"; the Czech delegation, the "Scarlet Banner"; the Chinese delegation, the "March of the Chinese Red Army"; the Italian delegation, "Bandiera Rossa"; the German delegation, "Red Wedding." Shouts from the delegations: "Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitrov!" "Hurrah!" Applause. Thorez: "Hurrah for the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin! Hurrah for the Communist International and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitrov!" Renewed shouts of "Hurrah!" The orchestra plays the "Internationale."*)

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# The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism

Resolution on the Report of COMRADE DIMITROV

Adopted on August 20, 1935

## I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labour movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the Land of the Soviets*, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism*, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent. Despite a growth in industrial production in a number of countries and an increase in the profits of the financial magnates, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded on the whole either in emerging from the crisis and the depression, or in retarding the further accentuation of the contradictions of capitalism. In some countries (France, Belgium, etc.) the crisis is continuing, in others it has entered a state of depression, while in those countries where production has exceeded the pre-crisis level (Japan, Great Britain) new economic upheavals are impending.

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U.S.S.R.*, by means of which the capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.

(d) *The political crisis*, expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fas-



cism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship; the powerful anti-fascist movement in France, which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.

(e) The revolutionisation of the toiling masses throughout the whole capitalist world which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany—as well as in Austria and Spain, that is, in countries where the majority of the organised workers supported Social Democratic Parties. A powerful urge for unity of action is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the colonial countries and the Soviet revolution in China are extending. The relationship of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of a growth of the forces of revolution.

In this situation, the ruling bourgeoisie is seeking salvation more and more in fascism, in the establishment of the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital, with the aim of putting into effect extraordinary measures for despoiling the toilers, of preparing a predatory, imperialist war, of attacking the U.S.S.R., enslaving and dividing up China, and, on the basis of all this, preventing revolution. Finance capital is striving to curb the indignation of the petty-bourgeoisie masses against capitalism through the medium of its fascist agents who demagogically adapt their slogans to the moods of these sections of the population. Fascism is thus setting up for itself a mass basis and by directing these sections as a reactionary force against the working class, leads to the still greater enslavement of all the toilers by finance capital. In a number of countries fascism is already in power. But the growth of fascism and its victory attest not only to the weakness of the working class, disorganised as the result of Social Democracy's disruptive policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but also to the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, which is stricken with fear at the realisation of unity in the struggle of the working class, is in fear of revolution, and is no longer able to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

2. The most reactionary variety of fascism is the German type of fascism which brazenly calls itself National Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common either with socialism, or

with the defence of the real national interests of the German people, and merely fulfils the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only bourgeois nationalism but also bestial chauvinism.

Fascist Germany is plainly showing to the whole world what the masses of the people may expect where fascism is victorious. The raging fascist government is annihilating the flower of the working class, its leaders and organisers, in jails and concentration camps. It has destroyed the trade unions, the co-operative societies, all legal organisations of the workers, as well as all other non-fascist political and cultural organisations. It has deprived the workers of the elementary right to defend their interests. It has converted a cultured country into a hotbed of obscurantism, barbarity and war. German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the shock troop of international counter-revolution.

3. In emphasising the growth of the threat of fascism in all capitalist countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International warns against any underestimation of the fascist danger. The Congress also rejects the fatalistic views regarding the inevitability of the victory of fascism. These views are basically incorrect and can only give rise to passivity and weaken the mass struggle against fascism. The working class can prevent the victory of fascism, if it succeeds in bringing about unity in its struggle and by promptly developing its own militant action does not allow fascism to gather strength; if it succeeds, by correct revolutionary leadership, in rallying around itself the broad strata of toilers in town and country.

4. The victory of fascism is insecure. In spite of the formidable difficulties that fascist dictatorship creates for the working-class movement, the foundations of bourgeois domination are being further shaken under the rule of the fascists. The internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie are becoming especially acute. The legalistic illusions of the masses are being shattered. The revolutionary hatred of the workers is accumulating. The baseness and falsity of the social demagoguery of fascism is revealing itself more and more. Fascism not only did not bring the masses the improvement in their material conditions which they had been promised, but has brought about a further increase of the profits of the capitalists by lowering the living standard of the toiling masses, has intensified their exploitation by a handful of financial magnates, and has carried out their further spoliation for the benefit of capital. The disillusionment of the urban petty bour-



geois strata and of the toiling peasants, deceived by the fascists, is growing. The mass base of fascism is disintegrating and narrowing down. The Congress, however, warns against the dangerous illusions of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, and points out that only the *united revolutionary struggle* of the working class at the head of all the toilers will bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

5. In connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the growth of the fascist danger in other countries, the class struggle of the proletariat which is increasingly adopting the course of *determined resistance* to the fascist bourgeoisie sharpened and continues to sharpen. *The united front movement* against the offensive of capital and fascism is developing in all capitalist countries. The National Socialist terror raging in Germany has lent powerful impetus to the *international united front* of the proletariat (the Leipzig trial, the campaign for the release of Dimitrov and the comrades jailed together with him, the campaign for the defence of Thälmann, etc.).

Although the united front movement is as yet only in the initial stage of its development, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers of France, fighting side by side, succeeded in beating off the first attacks of fascism, thereby exerting a mobilising influence on the united front movement internationally. The joint armed struggle of the Social-Democratic and Communist workers in Austria and Spain not only set an heroic example to the toilers of other countries, but also demonstrated that a successful struggle against fascism would have been fully possible but for the sabotage of the Right and the wavering of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders (in Spain there must be added the open treachery of the majority of the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders), whose influence over the masses deprived the proletariat of determined revolutionary leadership and of clarity in the aims of the struggle.

6. The bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, of German Social Democracy, which by its entire policy facilitated the victory of fascism, also the failure of "Left" reformist Social Democracy in Austria, which drew the broad masses away from the struggle even when the inevitable armed clash with fascism was drawing close, have tremendously increased the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers in the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. The Second International is undergoing a profound crisis. Within the Social-Democratic Parties and the whole Second International a process

of differentiation into *two main camps* is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the *reactionary elements* who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of *elements who are becoming revolutionised*, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International welcomes the aspiration of the Social-Democratic workers to establish a united front with the Communists, regarding this as a sign that their class consciousness is growing, and that a beginning has been made toward overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle against fascism, against the bourgeoisie.

## II. THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

In face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that *at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labour movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class*. For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of all the toilers, who, without distinction of political views, have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organisation they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this very reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics *in a new manner*, by seeking to reach agreements with the organisations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:



1. The defence of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defence of the latter against fascism, must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do to-day* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of the labour organisations, to mobilise the masses around a *program of demands that are calculated to really shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis on to the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realise which disorganises fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat.*

While preparing the working class for rapid shifts in the forms and methods of struggle as circumstances change, it is necessary to organise, in proportion as the movement grows, the transition *from the defensive to the offensive* against capital, steering toward the organisation of a *mass political strike*, in which it is indispensable that the participation of the principal trade unions of the country should be secured.

2. Without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organisation and mobilisation of the masses, the Communists, in order to render the road to unity of action easier for the workers, must *strive to secure joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organisations of the toilers against the class enemies of the proletariat, on the basis of short or long-term agreements.* At the same time, attention must be directed mainly to the development of mass action in the various localities, conducted by the *lower organisations* through local agreements.

Loyally fulfilling the conditions of the agreements, the Communists must promptly expose any sabotage of joint action by persons or organisations participating in the united front, and if the agreement is broken, must immediately appeal to the masses while continuing their tireless struggle for the restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

3. The forms in which the united proletarian front is realised, which depend on the condition and character of the labour

organisations and on the concrete situation, must be varied in character. Such forms may include, for instance, joint action by the workers agreed upon *from case to case* on particular occasions, to secure individual demands, or on the basis of a common platform; action agreed upon in *individual enterprises or branches of industry*; action agreed upon on a *local, district, national or international scale*; action agreed upon in the organisation of the *unemployed*, in carrying out mass *political activity*, in the organisation of *joint self-defence* against fascist attacks; action agreed upon to *render aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against *social reaction*; joint action in defence of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the sphere of the *co-operative movement, cultural activity and sports*; joint action for the purpose of supporting the demands of the *toiling peasants, etc.*; the formation of workers', and workers' and peasants' alliances (Spain); the formation of lasting coalitions in the shape of "Labour Parties" or "Workers' and Farmers' Parties" (U.S.A.), etc.

In order to develop the united front movement as the cause of the masses themselves, Communists must strive to secure the establishment of elected (or, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) *non-party class organs of the united front* in the factories, among the unemployed, in the working-class districts, among the small townsfolk, and in the villages. Only such bodies, which, of course, should not supplant the organisations participating in the united front, will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast *unorganised mass of toilers*, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital and against fascism, and on this basis help to create a large body of working-class united front activities.

4. Wherever the Social-Democratic leaders, in their efforts to deflect the workers from the struggle in defence of their everyday interests and in order to frustrate the united front, put forward *widely advertised "Socialist" projects* (the de Man plan, etc.), the demagogic nature of such projects must be exposed, and the toilers must be shown the impossibility of bringing about socialism so long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, some of the measures put forward in these projects that can be linked up with the vital demands of the toilers should be utilised as *the starting point for*



developing a mass united front struggle jointly with the Social-Democratic workers.

In countries where Social-Democratic governments are in power (or where there are coalition governments in which Socialists participate), Communists must not confine themselves to propaganda exposing the policy of such governments, but must mobilise the broad masses for the struggle to secure their practical vital class demands, the fulfilment of which the Social-Democrats announced in their platforms, particularly when they were not yet in power or were not yet members of their respective governments.

5. Joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organisations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, renders still more necessary the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and programme of Communists to the Social-Democratic workers.

While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social-Democratic leaders against the united front, while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy, the Communists must establish the closest co-operation with those Left Social-Democratic workers, functionaries and organisations, that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party. The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social Democracy which is becoming revolutionised. And the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner, the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

The attitude to the practical realisation of the united front will be the chief indication of the true position of the various groups among the Social Democrats. In the fight for the practical realisation of the united front, those Social-Democratic leaders who come forward as Lefts in words will be obliged to show by deeds whether they are really ready to fight the bourgeoisie and the Right Social Democrats, or are on the side of the bourgeoisie, that is, against the cause of the working class.

6. Election campaigns must be utilised for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the prole-

tariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the programme of the Communist Party before the masses, the Communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions (also with the organisations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.), and exert every effort to prevent the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. In face of fascist danger, the Communists may, while reserving for themselves freedom of political agitation and criticism, participate in election campaigns on a common platform and with a common ticket of the anti-fascist front, depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, also depending on the electoral system in operation.

7. In striving to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, the struggle of the toiling peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, the Communists must seek to bring about the establishment of a wide anti-fascist people's front on the basis of the proletarian united front, supporting all those specific demands of these sections of the toilers which are in line with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is particularly important to mobilise the toiling peasants against the fascist policy of robbing the basic masses of the peasantry, against the plundering price policy of monopoly capital and the bourgeois governments, against the unbearable burden of taxes, rents and debts, against forced sales of peasant property, and in favour of government aid for the ruined peasantry. While working everywhere among the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia as well as among the office employees, the Communists must rouse these strata against increasing taxation and the high cost of living, against their spoliation by monopoly capital, by the trusts, against the thralldom of interest payments, and against dismissals and reductions in salary of government and municipal employees. While defending the interests and rights of the progressive intellectuals, it is necessary to give them every support in their movement against cultural reaction, and to facilitate their going over to the side of the working class in the struggle against fascism.

8. In the circumstances of a political crisis, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance fundamental revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandment of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political



power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure of power. If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible, and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a *proletarian united front government*, or an *anti-fascist people's front government*, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it that such a government is formed. The following situation is an essential prerequisite for the formation of a united front government: (a) When the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie is seriously paralysed so that the bourgeoisie is not in a condition to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) when vast masses of the toilers vehemently take action against fascism and reaction, but are not yet ready to rise and fight for soviet power; (c) when already a considerable proportion of the organisations of the Social-Democratic and other parties participating in the united front demand ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, and are ready to fight together with the Communists for the carrying out of these measures.

In so far as the united front government will really undertake decisive measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents, and will in no way restrict the activity of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party will support such a government in every way. The participation of the Communists in a united front government will be decided separately in each particular case as the concrete situation may warrant.

### III. THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Emphasising the special importance of forming a united front in the sphere of the economic struggle of the workers and the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement as a most important step in consolidating the united front of the proletariat, the Congress makes it a duty of the Communists to adopt all practical measures for the realisation of the unity of the trade unions by industries and on a national scale.

The Communists are decidedly for the re-establishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale; for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism; for one trade union in each industry; for one federation of trade unions in each country; for one international federation of trade unions

organised according to industries; for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

In countries where there are small Red trade unions, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and reformist trade unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation on an equal footing, on the basis of a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy.

It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganised workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organisations actually defend the interests of the workers and really become genuine class organisations. To this end the Communists must strive to secure the support of the entire membership, of the officials, and of the organisations as a whole.

It is the duty of the Communists to defend the trade unions against all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie and the fascists to restrict their rights or to destroy them.

If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches from the trade unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their reinstatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unity.

The Red trade unions and the Red International of Labour Unions must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of all trends, and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, on the basis of the class struggle and *trade union democracy*.

### IV. TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE INDIVIDUAL SECTORS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

1. The Congress calls particular attention to the necessity of carrying on a systematic *ideological struggle against fascism*. In view of the fact that the chief, the most dangerous form of fascist ideology is *chauvinism*, it must be made plain to the masses that the fascist bourgeoisie uses the pretext of defending the national



interests to carry out its sordid class policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people as well as robbing and enslaving other peoples. They must be shown that the working class, which fights against every form of servitude and national oppression, is the only genuine protagonist of national freedom and the independence of the people. The Communists must in every way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the past of their own people in an historically correct fashion, in the true spirit of Lenin and Stalin, so as to link up their present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past. The Congress warns against adopting a disparaging attitude on the question of national independence and the national sentiments of the broad masses of the people, an attitude which renders it easier for fascism to develop its chauvinist campaigns (the Saar, the German regions in Czechoslovakia, etc.), and insists on a correct and concrete application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

While Communists are irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety, they are by no means supporters of national nihilism, of an attitude of unconcern for the fate of their own people.

2. Communists must enter all *fascist mass organisations* which have a monopoly of legal existence in the given country, and must make use of even the smallest legal or semi-legal opportunity of working in them, in order to counterpose the interests of the masses in these organisations to the policy of fascism, and to undermine the mass basis of the latter. Beginning with the most elementary movements of protest around the urgent needs of the toilers, the Communists must use flexible tactics to draw ever wider masses into the movement, especially workers who by reason of their lack of class consciousness still follow the fascists. As the movement gains in width and depth, the slogans of the struggle must be changed, while preparing to smash the fascist bourgeois dictatorship with the aid of the very masses who are in the fascist organisations.

3. While vigorously and consistently defending the interests and demands of the unemployed, while organising and leading them in the fight for work, for adequate relief, insurance, etc., the Communists must draw the unemployed into the united front movement and use all means to force out the influence of fascism among them. At the same time it is necessary to take strictly into account the specific interests of the various categories of

unemployed (skilled and unskilled workers, organised and unorganised, men and women, youth, etc.).

4. The Congress emphatically calls the attention of all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to the exceptional role of the youth in the struggle against fascism. It is from among the youth that fascism mainly recruits its shock detachments. In fighting against any underestimation of the importance of mass work among the toiling youth, and taking effective steps to overcome the secludedness of the Young Communist League organisations, the Communist Parties must do everything to help unite the forces of all non-fascist mass youth organisations (youth organisations of the trade unions, co-operative societies, etc.) on the basis of the broadest united front, including the formation of various kinds of common organisations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarisation of the youth, and for the economic and cultural interests of the young generation. The task of creating an anti-fascist association of Communist and Socialist youth leagues on the platform of the class struggle must be brought to the fore.

The Communist Parties must give every assistance in the development and consolidation of the Young Communist League.

5. The vital necessity of drawing the millions of toiling women into the united people's front, primarily women workers and toiling peasant women, irrespective of the political and religious views they hold, requires that the Communists intensify their activity for the purpose of developing the mass movement of the toiling women around the struggle for their urgent demands and interests, particularly in the struggle against the high cost of living, against inequality in the status of women and their fascist enslavement, against mass dismissals, for higher wages on the principle of equal pay for equal work, and against the war danger. Flexible use must be made, in every country and on an international scale, of the most varied organisational forms to establish contacts between and bring about joint action of the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive women's organisations, while ensuring freedom of opinion and criticism, without hesitating to form also separate women's organisations wherever this may become necessary.

6. Communists must carry on a struggle to draw the co-operative organisation into the ranks of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist people's front.

The most active assistance must be rendered by Communists in



the struggle of the co-operative societies for the urgent interests of their members, especially in the fight against high prices, for credits, against the introduction of predatory duties and new taxes, against the restrictions imposed on the activities of the co-operative societies and their destruction by the fascists, etc.

7. The Communists must take the initiative in establishing *anti-fascist mass defence corps* against the attacks of the fascist bands, recruiting these corps from reliable, tested elements of the united front movement.

## V. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

In the *colonial and semi-colonial countries*, the most important task facing the Communists consists in working to establish an *anti-imperialist people's front*. For this purpose it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

In China, the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red Army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national-revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying centre for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation.

In the interests of its own struggle for emancipation, the proletariat of the imperialist countries must give its unstinted support to the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist pirates.

## VI. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Congress emphasises with particular stress that only *the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves*, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a

policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and the application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilisation of the widest masses of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

In order that the united front may be really brought about, the Communists must overcome the self-satisfied *sectarianism* in their own ranks which in our day is, in a number of cases, no longer an "infantile disorder" of the Communist movement but an ingrained vice. By overestimating the degree of revolutionisation of the masses, by creating the illusion that the path to fascism had already been barred while the fascist movement was continuing to grow, this sectarianism actually fostered passivity in relation to fascism. In practice it replaced the methods of leading masses by the methods of leading a narrow party group, substituted abstract propaganda and Left doctrinairism for a mass policy, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organisations and adopting stereotyped tactics and slogans for all countries without taking account of the special features of the concrete situation in each particular country. This sectarianism to a great extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult for a genuine mass policy to be carried out and hindered these Parties in making use of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the revolutionary movement, hindered the cause of winning over the wide masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While carrying on a most energetic struggle to root out all vestiges of sectarianism, which at the present moment is a most serious obstacle to the pursuing of a real mass Bolshevik policy by the Communist Parties, the Communists must increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of *Right opportunism*, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the *Right danger will grow* as the tactics of the united front are widely applied. The struggle for the establishment of the united front, the unity of action of the working class, gives rise to the necessity that the Social-Democratic workers be convinced by object lessons of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and charges every Communist Party to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to gloss over the differences in principle between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and



practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the illusion that it is possible to bring about Socialism by peaceful, legal methods, against any reliance on *automatism* or *spontaneity*, whether in the liquidation of fascism or in the realisation of the united front, against belittling the role of the Party and against the slightest *vacillation at the moment of decisive action*.

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that a *single mass political party of the working class* exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organisations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only under certain conditions: under the condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie*, under the condition that unity of action be first brought about, that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognised, that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

At the same time it is necessary to act resolutely against the attempts of the "Left" Social-Democratic demagogues to utilise the disillusionment among the Social-Democratic workers to form new Socialist Parties and a new "International" which are directed against the Communist movement and thus widen the split in the working class.

Considering that unity of action is an urgent necessity and the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares in the name of all sections of the Communist International that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding parties of the Second International for the establishment of unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and likewise declares that the *Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International directed to this end*.

## VII. FOR SOVIET POWER

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organised in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International, are all accelerating and will continue to accelerate the development of the world Socialist revolution.

The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

Steering a course in the direction of this perspective of the revolutionary development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calls on the Communist Parties to display the greatest political activity and daring, to carry on a tireless struggle to bring about unity of action by the working class. The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions. Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets. "The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (Stalin.)



# The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection with the Preparations of the Imperialists for a New World War

Resolution on the Report of COMRADE ERCOLI

Adopted on August 20, 1935

## I. THE PREPARATION OF WAR FOR A NEW REPARTITION OF THE WORLD

The world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilisation have given rise to the extreme instability of all international relations. The intensified struggle on the world market, which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis, has passed into fierce economic war. *A new repartition of the world has actually already begun.*

*Japanese imperialism*, waging war in the Far East, has already made a start toward a new repartition of the world. The military occupation of Manchuria and North China signifies the virtual annulment of the *Washington Treaties* which regulated the division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist powers in China and their mutual relations in the Pacific. Japan's predatory expedition is already leading to the weakening of the influence of British and American imperialism in China, is menacing the position of Great Britain and the U.S.A. in the Pacific and is a preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

All that is left of the *Versailles Treaty* is state frontiers and the distribution of mandates for colonies. The liquidation of the *Versailles Treaty* took place as a result of the stoppage of reparation payments, the re-establishment of universal conscription by the Hitler government, and also the conclusion of a naval agreement between Britain and Germany.

*Being the chief instigators of war, the German fascists*, who strive for the hegemony of German imperialism in Europe, raise the question of changing the boundaries of Europe at the expense of their neighbours by means of war. The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for

attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavouring to arouse moods in favour of a world war for a new repartition of the world. All these intrigues of the reckless inciters of war help to intensify the contradictions between the capitalist states and create disturbances throughout Europe.

German imperialism has found an ally in Europe—*fascist Poland*, which is also striving to extend its territory at the expense of Czecho-Slovakia, the Baltic countries and the Soviet Union.

The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a world-wide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.

*Italian imperialism* is directly proceeding to seizure of Abyssinia, thus creating new tension in the relations between the great imperialist powers.

The main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the *Anglo-American antagonism* which exerts its influence on all the contradictions in world politics. In South America, where the hostile interests of Great Britain and the United States clash most sharply, this antagonism led to wars between the respective South American vassals of these powers (between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Peru), and threatens further armed conflicts in South and Central America (Colombia and Venezuela).

At a time when particularly the fascist states—Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy—are openly striving for a new repartition of the world and a change in the frontiers of Europe, there is a tendency among a number of other countries to maintain the *status quo*. At the present time this tendency is represented on a world scale by the United States; in Europe, primarily by France; the efforts of these two leading imperialist powers to maintain the *status quo* are supported by several smaller countries (the Little and Balkan Ententes, some of the Baltic states), whose independence is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The victory of German National Socialism, the most reac-



tionary, the most aggressive form of fascism, and its war provocations have spurred on the war parties, which represent the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie, in all countries to fight more vigorously for power and to intensify the fascisation of the state apparatus.

The frantic arming of fascist Germany, especially the restoration of military conscription and the enormous increase of the navy and air fleet in Germany, have given rise to a new, intensified race for armaments throughout the capitalist world. Despite the world economic crisis, the war industry flourishes more than ever before. The countries which have gone farthest in preparing for war (Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland) have already placed their national economy on a war footing. Alongside the regular armies, special fascist detachments are trained to safeguard the rear and to do gendarme service at the front. Pre-conscription training is widespread in all capitalist countries, and even includes juveniles. *Education and propaganda* in the spirit of chauvinism and racial demagoguery are encouraged in every way, their cost being defrayed by the government.

Although the acuteness of the imperialist contradictions renders the formation of an anti-Soviet *bloc* difficult at the present moment, the fascist governments and war parties in the capitalist countries endeavour to solve these contradictions at the expense of the fatherland of all the toilers, at the expense of the Soviet Union. The danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist war daily threatens humanity.

## II. THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

On the basis of the rapid rise of socialist industry and agriculture, on the basis of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks, on the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country resulting therefrom, *the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase.*

The basic contradiction, that between the socialist and the capitalist world, has become still more acute. But due to its growing might, the Soviet Union has been able to avert the attack that was already prepared by the imperialist powers and their vassals, and to unfold its consistent policy of peace directed against all

instigators of war. This has made the Soviet Union the centre of attraction not only for class-conscious workers, but for all the toiling people in the capitalist and colonial countries who strive for peace. Moreover, the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has not only upset the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet Union, but has laid the basis for its co-operation in the cause of the preservation of peace *with the small states* for whom war, by placing their independence in jeopardy, represents a special danger, as well as with those governments which at the *present moment* are interested in the preservation of peace.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R., putting forward proletarian internationalism as against national and racial dissension, is not only directed towards defence of the Soviet country, towards ensuring the safety of socialist construction; it also protects the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defence of the national independence of small nations; it serves the vital interests of humanity, it defends culture from the barbarities of war.

At a time when a new war between the imperialist states is approaching ever more closely, the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the U.S.S.R. is constantly gaining in importance in the struggle for peace. Under the circumstances of a frantic increase in armaments by the imperialist countries, especially on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland, all those who are striving to preserve peace are vitally interested in strengthening and actively supporting the Red Army.

## III. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

On the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin on war, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International concretely formulated the tasks of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war. Guided by these principles, the Communist Parties of Japan and China, both directly affected by war, have waged and are waging a Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war and for defence of the Chinese people. *The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war, sets the following main tasks before the Communist Parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the whole world:*



1. *The struggle for peace and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.* In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the central slogan of the Communist Parties must be: struggle for peace.

2. *The united people's front in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of war.* The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front. The concentration of forces against the chief instigators of war at any given moment (at the present time—against fascist Germany, and against Poland and Japan which are in league with it) constitutes a most important tactical task of the Communist Parties. It is of especially great importance for the Communist Party of Germany to expose the national demagoguery of Hitler fascism, which screens itself behind phrases about the unification of the German people but in fact leads to the isolation of the German people and to a new war catastrophe. The indispensable condition and pre-requisite for the unification of the German people lies in the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The establishment of a united front with Social-Democratic and reformist organisations (party, trade union, co-operative, sport and cultural and educational organisations) and with the bulk of their members, as well as with mass national-liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organisations and their adherents, is of decisive importance for the struggle against war and its fascist instigators in all countries.

The formation of a united front with *Social-Democratic and reformist organisations* for the struggle for peace necessitates a determined ideological struggle against reactionary elements within the Social-Democratic Parties which, in face of the immediate danger of war, proceed to collaborate even more closely with the bourgeoisie for the defence of the bourgeois fatherland and by their campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union directly aid the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. It necessitates close collaboration with those forces in the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other mass labour organisations whose position is approaching ever closer to that of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The drawing of pacifist organisations and their adherents into

the united front of struggle for peace acquires great importance in mobilising the petty bourgeois masses, progressive intellectuals, women and youth against war. While constantly subjecting the erroneous views of sincere pacifists to constructive criticism, and vigorously combating those pacifists who by their policy screen the preparations of the German pacifists for imperialist war (the leadership of the Labour Party in Great Britain, etc.), the Communists must invite the collaboration of all pacifist organisations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars.

The Communists must support the Amsterdam-Pleyel anti-war and anti-fascist movement by active collaboration with it and help to extend it.

3. *The combination of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against fascism.* The anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparation for imperialist war.

4. *The struggle against militarism and armaments.* The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight: against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarisation measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarisation of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidising the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defence of the economic interest and political rights of the workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

5. *The struggle against chauvinism.* In the struggle against chauvinism the task of the Communists consists in educating the workers and the whole of the toiling population in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*, which can be accomplished only in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors, for the vital class interests of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against the bestial chauvinism of the National Socialist Parties and all



other fascist parties. At the same time the Communists must show that the working class carries on a consistent struggle in defence of the national freedom and independence of all the people against any oppression or exploitation, because only the Communist policy defends to the very end the national freedom and independence of the people of its country.

6. *The national liberation struggle and the support of wars of national liberation.* If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack may assume the character of a war of liberation, in which the working class and the Communists of that country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to wage the war of liberation to a finish, without allowing "their" bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers at the expense of the interests of their country.

It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets in their struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party of China must exert every effort to extend the front of the struggle for national liberation and to draw into it all the national forces that are ready to repulse the robber campaign of the Japanese and other imperialists.

#### IV. FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International most determinedly repudiates the slanderous contention that Communists desire war, expecting it to bring revolution. The leading role of the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the triumph of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, proves that the Communists are striving with all their might to obstruct the preparations for and the unleashing of a new war.

The Communists, while fighting also against the illusion that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, exert and will exert every effort to prevent war. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organised in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress at the same time warns Communists and revolutionary workers against anarcho-syndicalist methods of struggle against war, which take the form of refusing to appear for military service, the form of a so-called boycott of mobilisation, of committing sabotage in war plants, etc. The Congress considers that such methods of struggle only do harm to the proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks who, during the World War, fought energetically against war and were for the defeat of the Russian government, rejected, however, such methods; these methods merely make it easier for the bourgeoisie to take repressive measures against Communists and revolutionary workers, and prevent the latter from winning over the toiling masses, especially the soldier masses, to the side of the mass struggle against imperialist war and for its transformation into civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International:

"If nevertheless war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilise the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends Socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defence of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the



Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defence of Socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists

# The Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Its World Historic Significance

Resolution on the Report of COMRADE MANUILSKY

Adopted on August 20, 1935

Having heard Comrade Manuisky's report on the results of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes with profound satisfaction that, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the all-round consolidation of the state of the proletarian dictatorship have been achieved as a result of carrying through the socialist reconstruction of national economy, of accomplishing the collectivisation of agriculture, of squeezing out the capitalist elements and liquidating the kulaks as a class.

1. Socialist industrialisation has been successfully carried through. The U.S.S.R. has changed from an economically and technically backward agrarian country into a great, advanced, industrial country with its iron and steel production, machinery construction, aviation, automobile and tractor industry, and is becoming a country of electric power and chemical industries. The U.S.S.R. is in a position to manufacture any machine and any instrument of production in its plants. Big industrial towns have sprung up in formerly uninhabited places. The old industrial areas are expanding and new ones are being created. The formerly backward outlying regions and the erstwhile tsarist colonies are being successfully industrialised and, as a result, are being transformed into flourishing, advanced, industrial national republics and territories. Highly qualified cadres of technicians, organisers and executives have been trained for the numerous and diversified industries and processes of production. The successes already achieved provide new great possibilities for the further growth of the industrialisation of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R.

2. The greatest revolution has been successfully accomplished in the countryside—the collectivisation of agriculture. With the triumph of the collective farm system, the most difficult task, that of turning the vast majority of the peasantry on to the path of socialist development, has been solved in practice. Large-scale mechanised agriculture, organised along socialist lines, has been



established. The network of machine and tractor stations is extending. The Soviet (state) farms are gaining strength. The material and productive advantages of the collective farm system have already become a stimulus to the further consolidation of the collective farms and extension of voluntary collectivisation. The grain problem has been solved. Livestock raising has improved and is steadily on the upgrade. Thanks to the collective and state farms—the existence of vast stretches of hitherto uncultivated fertile soil and the turn to intensive methods of agriculture, accompanied by an ever-increasing application of technique and scientific principles of farming, guarantee the possibility of the development of socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R. on a tremendous scale.

3. A radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. and a tremendous rise of their cultural level has been achieved. Unemployment has disappeared. Workers and office employees are growing in number and becoming more highly skilled. Wage and social insurance funds as well as individual wages and social insurance benefits are rising (sanatoriums, rest homes, free medical aid, invalid and old-age pensions, etc.). The working day has been reduced to seven and six hours, and the conditions of labour are progressively improving. Food supply difficulties are being successfully overcome (abolition of bread cards; the growing supply of meats and fats for the toilers, as livestock raising keeps developing). The big cities and industrial centres have changed their appearance. The housing and living conditions of the toilers are steadily improving; in place of the slums which are characteristic of the working-class quarters in big cities and industrial centres under capitalism, spacious, light and sanitary workers' homes have already been built and more are being built. Thanks to the collectivisation of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, poverty has vanished in the villages, the peasants have secured the opportunity of a well-to-do life and work under conditions which do not exhaust but invigorate them.

Solicitude for people, for the toilers, for cadres and, above all, solicitude for the children, occupy a central place in the activities of the Party, the state, the trade unions and all public organisations. The cultural level of the toilers is rising fast. In all the republics of the Soviet Union universal compulsory elementary education has been introduced, conducted in the native national languages. Millions of children of the workers, peasants and office employees are studying in the secondary schools and uni-

versities. A vast network of educational institutions for children under school age, and a system of specialised evening schools, circles and courses for adults have been set up. Tens of thousands of clubs, theatres and cinema houses have been built in working-class districts, at factories, in villages. The development and flourishing of the culture, national in form and socialist in content, of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. which were formerly oppressed, neglected and doomed to extinction, but are now free and equal, proceeds apace. Women actively participate in socialist construction on an equal footing with men. Young generations which have grown up under Soviet conditions, which have not known capitalist exploitation or want and deprivation of rights, and recognise only the interests, tasks and aims of Socialism, are entering into the construction of Socialism. Science and all forms of art have been made accessible to the broadest masses. Academicians, scientists, research workers, actors, writers, painters and masters of every other branch of art have turned to the side of the toilers. No matter how vast all these material and cultural achievements may be, compared with the recent past and with the position of the toilers in capitalist countries to-day, they represent merely the beginning of that splendid near future, flourishing in every way and abounding in universal well-being, toward which the Land of Socialism is advancing.

4. A great political consolidation of the state of the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved. The Land of the Soviets has the most stable and most impregnable political order. It is a state of developed democracy, not divorced from the masses of the people nor placed in opposition to them, but organically connected with them, defending their interests, expressing their will and carrying it into effect. The profound, radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of the U.S.S.R. as a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of the collective farm system, have brought about a further expansion and strengthening of the social foundation of the Soviet Power. In accordance with these changes and relying on the increased confidence of the broad masses in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Government has carried out new measures of great historic significance in introducing a further democratisation of its system; the substitution of equal suffrage for the previously not entirely equal suffrage, direct for indirect elections, the secret for the open ballot; the extension of electoral rights to include new sections of



the adult population, re-enfranchisement of those of the former kulaks who have been deprived of the vote, but who have since shown in actual fact, by honest labour, that they have ceased to fight against the Soviet order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is steadily developing along the path of constantly strengthening and widening the direct connections of the Soviet state with the masses of the people, with the overwhelming majority of the population, the path of enhancing the all-round and active direct participation of the masses of the people in the administration of the state and the direction of socialist construction. The development of proletarian democracy which has been attained as a consequence of the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the consolidation of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society and the realisation of the unity of interests of the vast majority of the population in all the republics of the Soviet Union, enormously strengthens the state of the proletarian dictatorship.

True to its principles of the brotherhood, freedom and independence of all peoples and nations, the Soviet Union unswervingly fights for the preservation of peace between nations, exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialist robbers and takes all the necessary steps to ensure the defence of the Socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world against the menace of predatory attack by the imperialists. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that in place of old tsarist Russia, a country beaten by all, and in place of the weak Soviet country which, in the early days of its development, was faced with the possibility of being partitioned by the imperialists, a mighty, socialist state has now arisen.

The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of the new man, of a new social and individual mode of life of the people. In the great workshop of planned socialist labour, founded on socialist competition, on shock work and the creative initiative of the masses, a great process of re-making people is taking place. The mercenary and anti-social, private property ethics and habits inherited from capitalism are gradually vanishing. The atmosphere of enthusiastic socialist labour facilitates the re-education of criminals and law-breakers. The principle of the inviolability of public property is being instilled in every branch of national economy in town and village. The public opinion of the toiling masses and the practice of self-criticism have become a mighty factor for moral influence, for bringing up people and re-educating them. On the basis of the new attitude towards labour and society that is gaining a firm

hold, a new mode of life is being created, the consciousness and psychology of people are becoming re-shaped, new generations, healthy, able-bodied and versatily developed, are coming into being. From the very midst of the people, organisers, leaders, inventors, bold explorers of the uncharted elements of the Arctic, heroic conquerors of the stratosphere, the air and the depths of the sea, of the summits of mountains and the bowels of the earth, are coming forth in vast numbers. Millions of toilers are storming and mastering the hitherto inaccessible citadels of technique, science and art. The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of new people, full of purpose, buoyancy and the joy of living, surmounting all difficulties and performing great feats.

5. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was achieved in a determined struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against Right and "Left" opportunism, in a stubborn and protracted struggle to overcome enormous difficulties, which arose because of the low level of technical and economic development inherited by the country and because of the need to achieve, in a brief space of time, by its own forces and means, and under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialists, the reconstruction of the technical foundation of national economy and the fundamental reorganisation of its social and economic relations. Carrying out this readjustment, and especially the rebuilding of the technical base of agriculture, which was connected with the uniting of small peasant households into large collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, meant a resolute attack by the proletariat on the capitalist elements. As they lost every economic foundation, the remnants of the exploiting classes, backed by the imperialists, offered desperate resistance, resorted to sabotage, wrecking, the burning of crops, the disruption of sowing campaigns, the extermination of cattle, etc. The proletariat succeeded in crushing the resistance of its enemies, creating a powerful socialist industry, consolidating the collective farm system, surmounting the difficulties connected with the need for rapid advancement of national economy. The possibility of building up Socialism in a single country, brilliantly foreseen by Lenin and Stalin, has become a reality, palpable and tangible, for millions of people throughout the world. The historic question of "who will win?" inside the country, the question of the victory of Socialism over capitalism in the U.S.S.R. has been finally and irrevocably decided in favour of socialism. This does not exclude the possibility that the survivors of the routed class enemy, who have lost all hope of preventing the development of Socialism,



will do whatever harm they can to the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R.

The further development of triumphant Socialism will be accompanied in the U.S.S.R. by difficulties of a different order, difficulties arising out of the need to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. With the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the world proletarian revolution has gained an impregnable position in the sharpening struggle to decide the question "who will win?" on the international arena.

6. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of world importance. Gained, with the support of the international proletariat, by the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the best companion-in-arms of the great Lenin, the wise leader of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is causing a profound change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world; it is convincing the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers, and workers of other trends, of the necessity of waging a common struggle for Socialism, and is a decisive factor in the realisation of proletarian fighting unity; it is destroying ideas and conceptions, embedded for centuries, of the capitalist order being eternal and unshakeable, is revealing the bankruptcy of bourgeois theories and the schemes to "rejuvenate" capitalist society, is having a revolutionising effect on the toiling masses, instilling into them confidence in their own strength and a conviction of the necessity and practical possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of Socialism. The road of salvation, the road to Socialism, already trodden by the living example of the U.S.S.R., is shining brightly before the eyes of millions of toilers in the capitalist and colonial countries, of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet socialist order guarantees:—

To the workers—liberation from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist exploitation, the opportunity to work for themselves and not for exploiters and parasites, to administer the state and national economy, to steadily improve their material conditions, to lead a cultured life.

To the peasants—land and emancipation from their bondage to landlords, moneylenders, bankers, from unbearable taxes—liberation from crises, ruin, degradation and destitution, a steady rise in their prosperity and cultural standards, and a thorough-going lightening of their labour.

To the petty-bourgeois folk of the towns—liberation from the nightmare of bankruptcy, from the oppression of big capital, from

ruin and degeneration, and the opportunity of finding a place as honest toilers in the system of socialist economy, of bringing about a radical improvement in their material and spiritual life.

To the intellectuals—the necessary conditions and the widest scope for the perfection of their knowledge, capabilities and talents, great impulses and wide horizons for creative work, a radical improvement in their material and cultural life.

To peoples of the colonies and dependencies—national emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, the possibility of rapidly raising their national economy to the level of the most advanced countries, the advancement and flourishing of their national culture, free and equal active participation in international life.

7. With the victory of socialism, the U.S.S.R. has become a great political, economic and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the centre of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.

The victory of Socialism, having transformed the U.S.S.R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples, and states, marks a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favour of Socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution, follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of all sections of the Communist International:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U.S.S.R. and to fight against the enemies of the U.S.S.R. Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U.S.S.R. the interests of strengthening the U.S.S.R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victory in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle against the exploiters, with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism; they are the



conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U.S.S.R., its defence, and co-operation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organisation of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and everyone who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations, that Socialism should triumph throughout the world.

## Activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

### Resolution on the Report of COMRADE PIECK

Adopted on August 1, 1935

1. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International endorses the political line and practical activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International approves the proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of March, 1933, October, 1934, and April, 1935, to the national sections and the leadership of the Second International for joint action in the struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war. Expressing its regret that, to the detriment of the working class, all these proposals were rejected by the Executive Committee of the Second International and by most of its Sections, and noting the historic significance of the fact that the Social-Democratic workers and a number of Social-Democratic organisations are already struggling hand in hand with the Communists against fascism and for the interests of the toiling masses, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Executive Committee of the Communist International and all parties affiliated with the Communist International to strive in the future by every means to establish a united front on a national as well as international scale.

3. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International records the growing revolutionary influence of the work and slogans of the Communist Parties on the broad masses of the workers, including the members of the Social-Democratic Parties. With this as its point of departure, the Congress enjoins all sections of the Communist International to overcome, in the shortest time possible, the survivals of sectarian traditions which prevented them from finding a way of approach to the Social-Democratic workers, and to change the methods of agitation and propaganda which hitherto were at times abstract in character and little accessible to the masses, by giving these methods absolutely definite direction and linking them to the immediate needs and the day-to-day interests of the masses.

4. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes the serious shortcomings in the work of a number



of sections of the Communist International—the belated carrying out of the tactics of the united front, inability to mobilise the masses around partial demands, political as well as economic in character, failure to realise the necessity of struggling in defence of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, failure to realise the necessity of creating an anti-imperialist people's front in the colonial and dependent countries, neglect of work in the reformist and fascist trade unions and mass organisations of the toilers formed by bourgeois parties, under-estimation of the importance of work among the toiling women, under-estimation of the importance of work among the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeois masses, also the delay with which the Executive Committee gave political assistance to these sections. Taking into consideration the constantly growing importance and responsibility of the Communist Parties which are called to head the movement of the masses in process of revolutionisation, taking into consideration the necessity of concentrating operative leadership within the sections themselves, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

(a) While shifting the main stress of its activity to the elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labour movement, to proceed, in deciding any question, from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organisational matters of the Communist Parties;

(b) Systematically to assist in the formation and training of cadres of genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist Parties, so that the Parties will be able at the sharpest turns of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and of the Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement;

(c) To render effective aid to the Communist Parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents;

(d) To assist the Communist Parties in making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, the mechanical application of the experience of one country to another country, and the substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulations for concrete Marxian analysis.

(e) To ensure closer contact between the leading bodies of the Communist International and the various sections of the Communist International by still more active participation on the part

of the authoritative representatives of the most important sections of the Communist International in the day-to-day work of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

5. Pointing out the under-estimation by the Young Communist Leagues as well as the Communist Parties, of the importance of mass work among the youth, and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian secludedness of a number of Young Communist League organisations, to make it the duty of the Young Communist League members to join all mass organisations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organisations) formed by bourgeois, democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as by religious associations, and to wage a systematic struggle in these organisations to gain influence over the broad masses of the youth, mobilising it for the struggle against militarisation and forced labour camps, and for the improvement of its material conditions, for the rights of the young generation of toilers, while striving to establish for these purposes a broad united front of all non-fascist youth mass organisations.

6. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes that during the last few years, under the influence of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the crisis in the capitalist countries, the fiendishness of German fascism and the danger of a new war, a turn of the broad masses of the workers and the toilers in general from reformism to revolutionary struggle, from disunity and dispersion to the united front, has set in all over the world. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, taking into account the fact that the striving of the toilers for unity of action will continue to grow in the future despite the resistance of individual leaders of Social-Democracy, instructs all sections of the Communist International, in the process of struggle for the united front of the proletariat and the people's front of all toilers against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of a new war, to focus their attention on the further consolidation of their ranks and the winning over of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism.

7. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International points out that the transformation of the maturing political crisis into a victorious proletarian revolution depends solely on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties



among the broad masses of the proletariat, on the energy and self-sacrificing devotion of the Communists. Now, when a political crisis is maturing in a number of capitalist countries, it is the most important, the paramount task of the Communists not to rest on the successes already achieved but to advance towards new successes, extend the contacts with the working class, gain the confidence of the millions of toilers, transform the various sections of the Communist International into mass parties, bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties and thus secure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

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## COMPOSITION OF THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

### Members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

1. Bronkovsky.	16. Green.	31. Pieck.
2. Browder.	17. Heckert.	32. Pollitt.
3. Buck.	18. Ichikawa.	33. Prestes.
4. Chayen.	19. Kolarov.	34. Que roz, Antonio
5. De Visser.	20. Koplenig.	35. Rakosi.
6. Diaz.	21. Kun.	36. Raymond.
7. Dimitrov.	22. Kuusinen.	37. Salim Abud.
8. Dimitriu.	23. Kohler.	38. Stalin.
9. Duclos.	24. Lenski.	39. Stefanov, Boris.
10. Ercoli.	25. Linderot.	40. Thaelmann.
11. Florin.	26. Manuilsky.	41. Thorez.
12. Foster.	27. Mao tse Dun.	42. Tschan Go Tao.
13. Gallacher.	28. Marty.	43. Wang Ming.
14. Garlandi.	29. Moskvina, M.A.	44. Yezhov.
15. Gottwald.	30. Okano.	45. Zhdanov.

### Candidate-members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

1. Belevsky.	12. Franchon.	23. Popov.
2. Blas Roca.	13. Furini.	24. Pruchniak.
3. Bo Gu.	14. Ghioldi, R.	25. Schalker.
4. Bradley.	15. Gopner.	26. Sharkey.
5. Campbell.	16. Gorkitch.	27. Siroki.
6. Chemodanov.	17. Jaquemotte.	28. Stoinov.
7. Dahlem.	18. Kon Sin.	29. Shverma.
8. Dernberger.	19. Krumin.	30. Tuominen.
9. Dolores.	20. Losovsky.	31. Ulbricht.
10. Dutt, Palme	21. Levlien.	32. Varga.
11. Ford.	22. Michal.	33. Zapototsky.

### Composition of the International Control Commission:

1. Angaretis.	8. Kerrigan.	15. Sirola.
2. Anvelt.	9. Krayevsky.	16. Stasova.
3. Dengel.	10. Maggi.	17. Shmeral.
4. Eberlein.	11. Minor.	18. Tu Ho Sin.
5. Ferdi.	12. Monmousseau	19. Tskhakaya.
6. Grzegorzewsky.	13. Shkiryatov.	20. Valetsky.
7. Iskrov.	14. Senander.	



### **Members of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.:**

Cachin.	Manuilsky.
Dimitrov.	Marty.
Ercoli.	Moskvin, M.A.
Florin.	Okano.
Foster.	Pieck.
Gottwald.	Pollitt.
Kolarov.	Stalin.
Koplenig.	Thorez.
Kuusinen.	Wang Ming.
Lenski.	

### **Candidate-members of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.:**

Bronkovsky.	Kon Sin.
Browder.	Linderot.
Gallacher.	Losovsky.
Garlandi.	Michal.
Heckert.	Raymond.
Kohler.	Tuominen.

### **Members of the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.:**

Dimitrov (General Secretary)	Pieck.
Ercoli	Kuusinen
Manuilsky.	Marty.
	Gottwald.

### **Candidate-members of the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.:**

Moskvin, M.A.	Wang Ming.
Florin.	